000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamil is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[64] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.
797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
● 796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.
[771] Wae Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1][See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

chiefs and also clear up the exact differences between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

The next day I got an explanation of the officers. The three kepala kampong (called Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administrative officers. They are chosen by their respective suku. They have no ritual function as such, unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 Ama Hurint — Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
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231 Lewato — Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng — Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

[727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
● [796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must
554 get the right word. There seem to be no out-
614 ward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

551 Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurese who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R 796 Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
535 the mountains. On the way, especially in the kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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done in an excited pagan style, although on the occasion of a Christian festival. We saw clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles are interesting: the territorial priest of Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

In East Flores especially the bow is still used. We met a large band on Christmas not far from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

The style of clothing changes from place to place, though here again there is a general

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632 tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala
624 kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within
[622] the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 The situation in regard to the offices is
624 as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who
622 are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 Some of the people here are Catholics, and
796 I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are
796 separate. The two main feasts of the year are
241 those held at planting and at harvest time,
574 when the crops are brought in ritually to the
527 kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.
[614] And there is also a big suku feast when the
[342] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands at-
000 tend. Smaller private rites are held for such

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 [887] At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 [276] [889] 900 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment was complicated and good. Most drummers and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung.

624 824 796 Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a [533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

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614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
●796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

War
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
●796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

Wks

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
●796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
196 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

War

614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[889] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we were finishing up the work he got a note telling him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 721 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 346 796 782 The reasons for head-hunting were linked with the new korke (this is still a reason for the largest feast, when all kampongs come together. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 769 343 241 The korke was the center of the war cult and the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were the center of the agricultural cult. The little kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 621 602 Relations between villages are kept up by marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kanië, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 582 602 621 Another reason for relations with other communities is work. That is, there is mutual aid

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamië?

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 ●796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.

241 782 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay [774] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] [614] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition, each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.
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782 Note the food symbolism in these most important rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed
for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
● 796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).